THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 165 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • AUGUST 16, 1947 NUMBER 7

# The Shape of Things

THE 1948 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN GOT OFF to a lying start in the Caucus Room of the Senate Office Building, under the painfully thin guise of an investigation of war contracts. Through the miasma of perjury and peanut politics generated by the Ferguson-Brewster committee, a few broad observations can be made. The Republicans, drugged by four straight knockdowns, go right on fighting Roosevelt, by reflex, as though he were still in the ring. This is evident in the prompt and enthusiastic choice of son Elliott as a major target, even if we ignore the sworn testimony of one witness that the committee's assistant counsel had privately remarked: "We are not using a shotgun; we are shooting at him [Elliott] with a cannon." It is just as apparent, from his own admissions, that the President's son had been characteristically indiscreet enough to give the investigators a little ammunition, though it was grapeshot rather than cannonball. Nor can anything be said in defense of the transaction whereby plane-manufacturer Howard Hughes retained, for $10,000, the committee's former counsel, Hugh Fulton. All this is small stuff, however, with no fraud even alleged thus far—only a minor lobbying operation, hardly to be compared with the expansive activity of greater corporations in search of larger war contracts.

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THIS PICAYUNE INQUIRY, NOW SUSPENDED, is a burlesque of the great Senatorial probes of the past, such as the Walsh-Wheeler performance that sank the Harding Administration and sent some of its top officials to jail. Unfortunately for the political hopes of the Republicans, Brewster and Ferguson appear to have no comparable targets. What is more, Brewster himself, long regarded as a Washington errand-boy for Pan American Airways, is as vulnerable as the victims of his subpoenas. No one can picture old Tom Walsh squirming in the witness chair before his own committee, charged, as Brewster was charged by Hughes, with offering to squash an investigation if the suspect would agree to merge his concern with a corporation favored by the Senator. Still less can one imagine Walsh and his accuser calling each other liars one day and agreeing to drop their respective charges the next. The sudden adjournment of the hearings until November may indicate that the G. O. P. realized it would have to find more noisome scandals than this if it were to make hay while the August sun shone—and better investigators to expose them.

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WHAT CONSTANTINE POULOS PREDICTED IN *The Nation* of June 28 has already begun to happen. On the eve of Administrator Griswold's arrival in Greece, Poulos wrote: "The Greeks in power will use us for all we are worth. . . . They'll take the dollars, they'll make some revisions in their economic and political policies to please us, and sooner or later they'll ask for more money." The Greek government has not yet asked for more money; it could hardly raise the ante while the first jeeps and trucks and guns are still being unloaded in the Piraeus. But last week, Premier Maximos dispatched a note to Mr. Griswold and to Washington requesting the revision "in favor of the army" of the present plan to spend half the American aid funds on the Greek military establishment and half on the civilian economy. The note also hinted at the probable eventual need of American armed forces to clean up the guerrillas. That is the start. Watch closely, fellow-citizens, as the weeks pass, and see whether the guerrilla forces don't grow and grow, and banditry increase, and the Communist threat mount. Watch what sorts of goods go to Greece from America. Watch your dollars, voted by a panicky Congress; find out, if you can, into whose pockets they ultimately find their way. The implementation of the Truman doctrine has only begun.

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THE SOVIET DELEGATE'S ZEAL IN BACKING the candidacy of Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary for membership in the United Nations led him onto rather thin ideological ice last week. His argument before the Security Council's Committee on New Members was not exactly strengthened by an elaborate denunciation of American ideas of human rights in general, and on the new labor law and the loyalty check-up in particular. *The Nation* doesn't like those measures any better than Mr. Krasilnikov does, but we seem to recall that the Soviet government also goes in for loyalty tests on rather a massive scale. The Russian representative would probably remind us that the Soviet Union is a revolutionary state which makes no pretense of applying democratic safeguards to opposition groups. But this thesis has been weakened, we think, by Russia's repeated insistence that

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*The Nation*, published weekly and copyrighted, 1947, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

*Subscription Prices: Domestic*—One year $6; Two years $10; Three years $14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

*Change of Address:* Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

*Information to Libraries: The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

it is, indeed, a democracy, after its fashion. Anyhow, we are sure Mr. Krasilnikov will do better for his Balkan clients if he sticks to the considerable merits of their case, and foregoes the satisfaction of exposing American "hypocrisy" in the area of human rights.

*

NOW THAT SENORA PERON HAS PEDDLED the glories of her husband's dictatorship through Western Europe, the Argentine regime is laying plans to break down sales resistance in the United States. Peter Edson, the Scripps-Howard columnist, reported last week that a contract had been drawn up between the Perón government and Edward S. Fenton of New York for a propaganda campaign in this country. Questioning Mr. Fenton directly, we got not only confirmation of the contract story but a good indication of the approach he has in mind. He says that Perón is thoroughly anti-communist and has always been just as thoroughly pro-American. Little in the way of public relations will be required to establish the first point, though Perón did have a brief flirtation with the Communists last year, and they with him. But it should take even more than the $5,000,000 supposedly allotted for the campaign to put over point number two. Mr. Fenton will have to black out the public memory of Perón's intimate connections with Axis emissaries throughout the war, and of his galling declaration of war against Germany only after Hitler had already taken to the bunker that was to be his crematory. If this is to be a successful promotion venture, Mr. Fenton will have to get more cooperation from Buenos Aires than we think can be counted on from the current exchange of diplomatic amenities. In his position, we would ask for more than verbal gestures at the coming Rio conference. We might also ask the Argentine to stop profiteering on misery by selling wheat to a starved world at $5.50 a bushel, roughly twice the price exacted by those bloated *Yanqui* imperialists who are Perón's favorite whipping boys.

# *The Dollar Crisis*

THE British government's program for meeting the dollar crisis, drastic as it appears, is less severe than many commentators expected. Yet there was nothing in the various ministerial speeches in the House of Commons to suggest that the critical nature of the situation had in any way been exaggerated. Dr. Hugh Dalton, Chancellor of the Exchequer, pointed out that the existing gap between international payments and receipts meant exhaustion of the American loan before the end of this year. Nor are the sharp import cuts, now to be imposed, likely to solve the problem, even with the help of expanded exports, which reached a higher level in 1946 than in 1938, as Mr. Attlee pointed out in his

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speech to the nation last Sunday. Under the best of circumstances, it is difficult to see how Britain can avoid heavy drafts on its limited gold reserve in 1948 unless the Marshall plan produces substantial new aid. Consequently, it is not surprising that the Attlee program has had an unfavorable reception.

Tory criticism was, of course, to be expected under any circumstances. It has been violent but largely rhetorical. If the opposition has any alternative plan to offer, it has yet to make it public. A group of Labor left-wingers, on the other hand, has been very specific in its attacks on the inadequacy of the Attlee proposals which, indeed, appear to have been diluted since the Prime Minister outlined them at a private party meeting on July 30. In particular, they complain that proposed cuts in the armed forces are insufficient. They would like to see a definite date set for withdrawal of all British troops from Palestine, and they fail to see the necessity of maintaining a home establishment far above prewar strength.

Again, the Labor back-benchers are not satisfied that the government has adhered to the principle of equality of sacrifice in its new measures to hold down consumption and boost production. They point out that workers are being asked to work longer hours on a slimmer diet, to submit to partial restoration of wartime "direction of labor," and to refrain from demanding higher wages. Industry is also asked not to increase dividends, but a similar appeal a year ago was ignored. The left-wing critics believe that additional profit-taxes should be imposed now so as to check expenditures from unearned incomes.

Another left-wing proposal is of particular interest to this country. It is a suggestion that the British government forthwith notify Washington that it can no longer be bound by Article 9 of the loan agreement. Actually, while unwilling to take unilateral action, Mr. Attlee has asked the United States to suspend both this clause, which prohibits discrimination in purchasing imports, and also the clause providing for full convertibility of current sterling. The latter provision, when it became effective July 15, assisted an unexpected flight from the pound, adding greatly to British difficulties. It has also backfired on some American interests. Arguing, reasonably enough, that it cannot afford dollars for films when it lacks dollars for food, the British government has staggered Hollywood by a prohibitive import tax on foreign movies. The alternative, a much more agreeable one to American film makers, was to block all but a limited amount of foreign movie earnings in Britain. But this step would have violated the convertibility clause of the loan agreement.

The anti-discrimination clause makes it impossible for Britain to buy commodities for which it can pay in sterling while excluding those which can only be paid for in dollars. Thus it cannot, for instance, buy South American oranges unless it is also prepared to buy California ones offered at the same price. This ban on discrimination is very near to the heart of the State Department, for it is an integral part of the campaign to reestablish multilateral international trade. Yet, as long as the overpowering American trade surplus dominates the world-trade picture, strictly multilateral trading is most unlikely. Non-discrimination requires that restrictions of imports from the United States must apply equally to imports from other countries. As a result, the dollar shortage may force the British to reduce their meager cheese ration, while Italy, perhaps, is unable to dispose of her surplus cheese.

Absurdities of this kind are bringing the principle of multilateralism into disrepute. When countries lack the means to buy from us, we cannot expect them to starve quietly if their situation can be improved by barter deals. *The Nation* has supported the Administration's trade program, but until a more balanced international economy has been achieved, its full adoption is obviously impracticable. We hope, therefore, that Britain will be relieved of those loan conditions which are throttling it.

# A New Spanish Upset

THE resignation of the Llopis Cabinet had long been expected by those familiar with the problems of the Spanish emigration, but the circumstances in which it took place are none the less disquieting. When the Llopis government was formed by President Martinez Barrio in Paris last February, after the resignation of Prime Minister Giral, it met with indifference or outright hostility among most Spanish Republicans, who simply could not understand why the Republican cause had been entrusted to so weak a group of men. Within a few months, the regime was virtually moribund. Señor Llopis had failed to advance by an inch his double purpose—to win the support of the British Labor government and to reach an understanding with the Spanish Monarchists.

Llopis's visit to London last spring was a bitter disappointment. He found Mr. Bevin in no mood to discuss a change of regime in Spain; in fact, the British monetary accord with Franco was signed under the very nose of the Spanish Republican Premier. The Monarchists proved no more disposed to negotiate with his feeble Cabinet. Smarting under this double rebuff, Llopis chose the only remaining alternative; he began to pose as an uncompromising "resistant" who rejected any deal with rightist groups. In his new role, the Premier not only failed to convince rank-and-file Republicans, but created an untenable situation inside his own Socialist group. The group is composed of two chief elements, followers of Indalecio Prieto and those of the late Francisco Largo Caballero. After the death of Caballero, who had always

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enjoyed tremendous prestige among the workers, no realistic politician would have thought of challenging Prieto's claim to leadership of the group. Three weeks ago, Prieto moved in from Mexico and took command.

On July 25, the Prieto Socialists held a strategy conference at Toulouse, their headquarters. The chief question was whether the Llopis government should continue, despite its record, or should give place to a new *junta* representing the Prieto policy. In this debate, Llopis naively imagined that he could hold his own against the real boss. But the moment the wily old leader began to speak, he swept the assembly along with him. The Toulouse Socialists have always favored a compromise with all non-Communist elements, including the Monarchists, and have minimized the question of restoring the Republic. They are ready for any kind of arrangement that will eliminate Franco, and their chief recommendation was to liquidate the government and force through the plans for a plebiscite. On this, Prieto was sure of a majority against the "resistant" Llopis. Repudiated by his own group, Llopis was, in effect, finished, but he tried to stave off the inevitable. It was the withdrawal of the Communists that finally forced him to resign.

The Toulouse assembly endorsed Prieto's proposal to create a "Spanish Brotherhood"—a conglomeration of factions excluding only Franco's followers and the Communists. Prieto justifies his intervention on the grounds that it was essential, before the meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations five weeks from now, to create an instrument capable of opening the way for the kind of "democratic" government London and Washington would like to see.

Prieto's organization will not be as inclusive as he pretends. Among those who oppose his plan are the leaders of the old Socialist Party, Dr. Juan Negrin, Alvarez del Vayo, and Gonzalez Peña, chairman of the U. G. T. (General Workers' Union); and several prominent Republicans who were formerly associated with Prieto but who reject his present position. Speaking for this group recently, Señor Albornoz, Minister of Justice in the Giral government, said pointedly: "Monarchy, no. Russian satellite, no. But Dominion—also no!" Against Prieto are also the majority of the U. G. T., sections of the anarchist movement, and the Catalan and Basque parties who consider the monarchy the bitterest enemy of regional autonomy.

Consequently, Martinez Barrio has enough elements at hand to build a genuine Republican government, from which only Prieto would be excluded—by his own will. But the President will forfeit this chance if he chooses another weak figure as Prime Minister or, in order to avoid political complications, sets up a mere skeleton Cabinet. In either case, he will present victory to Prieto, who would like nothing so much as to see the government-in-exile evaporate, leaving the field to his still unborn "Brotherhood."

# PALESTINE: RULE BY RIOT

## *Jews and Soldiers*

BY LILLIE SHULTZ

*Jerusalem, August 10*

THE arrest of the three mayors, L. Rokach of Tel Aviv, O Ben Ami of Nathanya, and A. Krinizki, chairman of the Ramat Gan local council—locked up on August 5 and, by the time this appears in print, probably released—is a blundering incident in a game designed to permit Britain to remain in power, whatever the ultimate recommendations of the United Nations Special Committee of Inquiry. To achieve this purpose, the British are prepared to provoke incidents which will enable the military to move forward in force, trample down Jewish settlements and other communities, and destroy the unity of the Yishuv. The precipitate execution, on July 29, of the three young Jews, Yaacov Weiss, Meir Nakar, and Avshalom Habib, was a step in this direction. The execution was ordered by the General Officer Commanding, over the objections of the High Commissioner and in the face of the announcement that the two British sergeants captured by the Irgun would pay with their lives. The order was carried out despite the fact that, given five or six days more, the Haganah would surely have found the hideaway of the sergeants.

The hanging of the British sergeants was to have been the signal for the most rigid measures against the Jewish community. Mrs. Goldie Meyerson, acting head of the Jewish Agency Executive, had been warned to expect this. The action may have been delayed by the horror of the Jewish community over the deaths of Pace and Martin, the subsequent attacks on Tel Aviv, in which five Jews were killed and sixteen injured, and then the attack on the funeral cortège. For three weeks, the country has been filled with rumors of impending martial law and the closing down of the Jewish Agency. The arrest of the three mayors, the outlawing of the Brith Trumpeldor, one of the older revisionist groups, suspected of having made an alliance with the terrorists, and the arrests of some thirty-five leaders of the Revisionist Party are comparatively light measures.

Officially, the Jewish Agency has protested the arrests and is expected to be able to effect the release of Rokach,

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Ben Ami, and Krinizki. Privately, there is not too much sadness over the arrest of these three, known to be anti-labor and opposed to the Haganah on the one hand, and, on the other, in contact with the rightist terrorist organizations as well as most cooperative in their associations with the British. The more cynical even explain the arrest of Rokach as a complex British maneuver to secure some popularity for Rokach and insure his election to the post to which they appointed him. The general strike of August 7 was a protest, not simply against the most recent arrests, but against a policy which has turned Palestine into a police state under the absolute control of the military.

This control is visible to all. British military camps dot every main road; armored cars and truckloads of soldiers with fixed bayonets race up and down every highway; at every turn and crossing, vehicles are stopped, passengers unloaded, cars searched, license numbers noted. All inhabitants of the country are required, under threat of arrest, to possess identity cards and to show them to any passing soldier who asks for them. All interurban or urban communication, except by telephone, shuts down at 7 every evening. When the road curfew begins, any violation places one in danger of arrest or even death; the nervous soldiers are instructed to fire on cars and pedestrians who do not halt.

In Jerusalem, the curfew imposed three weeks ago still operates. The section of the city where some 9,000 of its 10,000 Jews live is closed tight at 7 o'clock. Only working newspaper correspondents on necessary errands are about, though a number of other people have curfew passes. The silence of the streets is broken only by the tramp of soldiers' feet or the exchange of orders from the walkie-talkies. Such cars as venture abroad must have a driver's curfew pass and travel with lights on. There is always the danger some trigger-happy nineteen-year-old British soldier will shoot out of fear. Searches of people and vehicles are commonplace, even during the day. Admission to the three protected zones in which British personnel is housed is only by special order. At the slightest provocation, sirens sound, halting all vehicular traffic and, in some instances, pedestrian traffic as well.

An incident involving one of the most distinguished personalities in the Jewish community, M. Novomeisky, illustrates the tension. On August 1, the siren sounded at about 2 p.m. Later it became known that, at this moment, three terrorists had stormed a sentry box in the vicinity of the Jewish Agency offices, one of them being killed and two arrested. M. Novomeisky, a man in his early seventies, decided to escort his two secretaries to their homes. On the street, a soldier ordered him to return to his office. When Novomeisky refused, on the score that pedestrian traffic was allowed, the soldier said: "Go back or I'll shoot." Novomeisky went to his office and telephoned the chief of police, a friend. The latter advised him to stay where he was for, as he put it, "the soldiers are nervous today."

[*Next week Lillie Shultz, director of the Nation Associates, will describe in detail the operations of Britain's police rule in Palestine.*]

# *Jews and Mobs*

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

*London, August 10*

DURING the past ten days, forecasts of sensational Cabinet plans, aimed to solve radically our economic crisis and make Socialist Britain independent of capitalist America, have monopolized the front pages of newspapers here. Since the stop-gap program of half-hearted deflation disclosed by Attlee represents little more than ineffective window-dressing, it is arguable that the advance publicity was not warranted by the event. In any case, one consequence of press concentration on the dollar crisis has been the slight attention paid to the outbreaks—small in scale but nationwide—of anti-Jewish violence.

On August 1, the *Daily Express* presented to its 4,000,000 readers a horrible photograph, nine inches deep across five columns, showing the dead booby-trapped bodies of two British sergeants hanging from eucalyptus trees. This picture, supported by a Jerusalem dispatch reporting that the deaths were due to slow strangulation, produced an inevitably strong revulsion of public feeling. It is probably true to say that a majority of Englishmen, unfamiliar with the Zionist case, nevertheless have an uncomfortable feeling that the White Paper Policy, sustained by Bevin's bayonets, represents not only a British failure in Palestine but a breach of pledges to the Jews. Hence the Irgun atrocity afforded a welcome psychological escape from the British guilt complex. Contrasting with the previous general opinion favoring prompt termination of the mandate and withdrawal of troops, widespread comment is now audible to the effect, "These dirty Jews have asked for it; let them have it."

It would be wrong to conclude that anti-Semitism is generally an active emotion in Britain: racial antipathies are not, indeed, characteristic of the British make-up. It is significant, however, that whereas Hitler's blitz bombing caused no broken windows of shops bearing German names, the two sergeants' deaths evoked not only intelligible horror but extravagant anger. It must be admitted that the average Briton, disclaiming anti-Semitism, nevertheless reacts emotionally with irrational vehemence to a brutal crime if it is committed by Jews.

The question is, how far do last weekend's outbreaks of

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violence reflect not only latent anti-Jewish feeling but fascist propaganda? The past year has seen the reemergence of various organizations reminiscent of the ideology of the prewar British Union of Fascists. Mosley himself conducts a company which publishes literature and a news letter and includes a widespread book-club network. Active also is the British League of ex-Servicemen, operating in London and the south. In addition, there is the so-called Unity Group, composing the Union for British Freedom (London and Brighton), the Sons of St. George (Northern England), the Imperial Defense Party (Manchester and Liverpool), and the British Workers' Party (Bristol). All of these organizations make anti-Semitism the chief plank in their policy. Their known leaders include numerous fascists who were jailed in wartime under regulation 18-B. Moreover, the Unity Group is controlled by Raven Thompson, former director of Mosleyite publicity.

A careful cross-check has satisfied me that no ex-member of the British Union of Fascists figures among those arrested during the week's rioting. Some were adolescent gangsters out for plunder; others were illiterate Irish Catholics. It is significant, however, that the areas of the worst outbreaks—London, Brighton, Manchester, and Liverpool—coincided with the most active centers of the above-mentioned fascist organizations. It is further noticeable that rioting in these and other towns followed the organized appearance of anti-Jewish slogans and fascist emblems, painted on house walls, and that during the attacks on Jewish ships, factories, and synagogues, shouts of "Death to the Jews!" were accompanied by cries of "Hitler was right!"

It is important not to exaggerate the immediate influence of the Mosleyite movement, but the government's repeated refusal to illegalize racial propaganda reflects its undue complacency. The past week's outbreaks demonstate how easily anti-Semitism can be inflamed. Moreover, "scratch an anti-Semite and you'll find a fascist." Given conditions of unemployment and hunger, the Mosleyites might stage a comeback.

# *The Battle of the Ruhr*

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

IT WAS a British government official who, according to an Associated Press report, described the American-English coal conference in Washington as "the Battle of the Ruhr," thus emphasizing its critical importance. One might go further: the Ruhr is perhaps the most decisive factor in the parallelogram of forces which will decide whether or not we shall have a third world war.

When the Russians refused to participate in the deliberations on the Marshall plan and the Paris conference became a conference of Western European countries, numerous press reports assured us that everything in Paris would proceed well since the discussions could no longer be disrupted by Moscow. It took but a few days to prove this view an illusion.

For Europe today, the decisive question is not merely reconstruction, but reconstruction based upon a *fundamental transformation of the social structure.*.

The Russian attitude toward this trend is absolutely clear: for its own ends, Russia is strongly backing the social forces—labor and agrarian—which are transforming Europe and Asia. American policy, on the other hand, opposes those forces and seeks to counteract them everywhere. From China to Germany—both neighbors of Russia—this country is lending its influence, and in many cases its material aid, to the most reactionary elements of the population. By doing so, we have already driven millions of progressive, democratic people into the arms of the Russians, or the Communist parties.

American policy is thus leading to the destruction of independent left elements in both Europe and Asia. It is strengthening the factors leading to war by helping to crystallize the division of the world, ideologically and geographically, into two opposed blocks. It is against this political background that the Battle of the Ruhr must be analyzed.

What are the stakes in this battle? Put briefly, the question is whether in the Ruhr, the heart of Europe and its most important industrial center, the transformation of European society is to be blocked for many years by American opposition.

This issue did not emerge yesterday; it has merely entered a new phase. It was on October 22, 1946, that British Foreign Minister Bevin, in an important speech before the House of Commons, declared that England had taken over control of coal and steel production in the Ruhr; that the machinery and chemical industries would be taken over next; and that these industries would never again pass under private ownership. But the Battle of the Ruhr has recently acquired new importance, for reasons too little discussed in the press.

Europe's crisis has lasted since the war came to a close. It has affected every sector of the Continent's eco-

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nomic life. In England, it has taken the form of a serious dollar crisis, since Britain cannot today—or in the near future—export enough to enable it to import the foodstuffs and raw materials required to maintain a Western European standard of living. At the same time, it is a crisis in production and in building throughout Europe. It is a food crisis in almost every country. Persons who argue that the situation is no more than a temporary consequence of the war, similar to that which existed in Europe in 1918 and 1919, fail to understand what has happened to change the underlying economic and social factors in the various countries. If this were 1919 instead of 1947, the problem would be relatively simple. During the war years, the United States increased its production and its productive capacity so tremendously that it would need to utilize only a very small fraction of this increase in order to help the European countries reach their pre-war levels and stand on their own feet. But Europe is no longer the Europe of World War I. The economic groups that held power then have, for the most part, been liquidated by years of fascist domination and wartime destruction. Capitalism itself has been either destroyed or shaken to its foundations; everywhere it is in process of transformation. Therefore, Europe's reconstruction is not only, or even primarily, an economic problem, but a political one.

In this period of change and rebuilding, the Ruhr is bound to play a decisive part. Production in England today is not far below its peacetime level; French production as a whole has reached 90 per cent of normal; while the Ruhr, like all of Western Germany, is barely turning out a third of its prewar production—in the case of steel, only a little over 10 per cent. The major portion of German heavy industry is concentrated in the Ruhr. In its reconstruction there are tremendous possibilities but also great dangers. During the years of Hitler's "military economy" (*Wehrwirtschaft*), the Ruhr, with 20,000,000 tons of steel annually, was producing about as much as England and France combined, and as much as all of Russia before the Nazi invasion. One need only ponder these figures to realize how explosive is the question of reconstructing the Ruhr, from the point of view of national as well as social and military interests.

THE British Labor government has taken over coal production in England. Socialization of steel has been postponed only temporarily; it will be accomplished during the period for which the Labor Party was elected. To British Labor, committed to a program of gradual socialization at home, the application of this principle to heavy industry in the Ruhr is a major step toward strengthening the democratic Socialist forces in Germany while destroying the social basis of those classes which supported Hitler and the Nazi war machine. British Labor sees the best guarantee against the rebirth of an aggressive Germany in the decisive change in German society which must result from the expropriation of the holdings of big industrialists and the social ownership of heavy industry.

But the British will soon have no dollars left with which to pay for their imports. They desperately need new American credits. Until now, they have paid almost half the occupation costs of the joint Anglo-American zones of Germany, amounting to about $500,000,000 a year. They want the Americans to pay three-quarters of these costs, or some $250,000,000 more. They know that if German production is to be considerably increased, more food must be imported, and that this, too, must be paid for by the United States.

Secretary of Commerce Harriman recently declared in London that the Labor government had not only failed to increase coal production in the Ruhr but had done a far from impressive job in coal production at home. He failed to mention, perhaps naturally, the fact that under the Churchill government British coal production was below today's level. He ignored, too, the prewar years of slow decay in the coal fields under Tory rule.

Facts like these should be kept clearly in view during the coming weeks, when American officials and the American press will be repeating over and over the simple official slogan that increased production is the one important issue and that it should not be mixed up

THE RAZOR'S EDGE

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with extraneous social and political considerations. Concentrate on production, we shall be told, and put off the controversial question of socialization for a few years.

The sure results of this policy must be explained with the utmost clarity. If the British Labor government, under financial pressure from America, is compelled to give up its plan for socializing heavy industry in Germany, its own prestige and position will be seriously compromised. If the American position wins, every British Tory will *know,* and no longer merely hope, that he can count on wholehearted support in Washington for every act of opposition to or sabotage of Labor's Socialist program in England.

But the consequences of an American policy aimed at restoring capitalist control in Germany would be even more far-reaching. In the face of the social ferment at work in Europe today, industrial reconstruction along prewar lines is completely illusory. The social antagonism during the world crisis after 1929 had already become so intense in Germany that big business could maintain its economic power only with the political help of the Nazis. The Second World War has wiped out the last hope of restoring capitalism in continental Europe, both by shattering capital values on a vast scale and by largely liquidating the middle class.

Any attempt to recreate the old system artificially is doomed to failure. Any such attempt will drive democratic groups to the Communist camp. Even the London *Economist,* not a Socialist but a liberal weekly, has warned America that an effort to rebuild heavy industry in the Ruhr under private ownership is likely to make France, as well as the Ruhr, go Communist.

It will be difficult to bring America, with its unquestioning acceptance of free enterprise at home, to support the forces in Europe which are seeking to organize the Continent on a Socialist basis. Yet today, the basic principle of American foreign policy is to do everything possible to stop Russian expansion. Perhaps if the makers of foreign policy in Washington could be convinced that the restoration of capitalism in the Ruhr would in the end only play into Stalin's hands, they would listen more attentively to the demands and arguments of their British allies. For if the American program is forced upon the British, a barrier to a new war will be destroyed and the progressive forces, which today still stand between America and the Soviet Union, will be swept away.

# *Our Chance for Democratic Housing*

## LAST IN A SERIES, "RACE BIAS IN HOUSING"

BY CHARLES ABRAMS

THE most effective method for stabilizing neighborhoods and removing the tensions caused by the competition for dwellings is to provide minorities with the living space they need.

If there were enough housing for everybody, minority groups would soon abandon the tendency to infiltrate and then inundate vulnerable neighborhoods, a characteristic sequence in American cities. If, in fact, there were no race covenants and no exclusion practices, there might be a more equitable distribution of minorities in all neighborhoods and no shift toward a particular racial predominance in any. Provision of living space merely in circumscribed areas will not preclude these racial shifts, for quantitative adequacy of housing will not repress the yearning of those of the minority who can afford it to reach out for social and psychical parity with the majority.

The prominent part the fear of infiltration plays in forcing a change in the composition of a neighborhood is confirmed by its absence in certain fixed patterns.

In many of our northern sections, there have always been Negro belts, many of them adjoining the more fashionable sections. The presence of Negroes disturbed neither property values nor social status. It was often considered a great convenience, in fact, to have the Negro servant living close by. New York City has had Negro belts that offered no threat to adjoining sections, in Brooklyn, Greenwich Village, Columbus Circle and other areas. The areas, however, were then considered settled in character; there was no prospect of imminent saturation of the neighborhood by the minority, and no activation of the standard fears of loss of social status, decline in values, or loss of neighborhood associations. Were New York City's Negroes—7 per cent of its population—evenly distributed, their presence today would hardly be noticeable. This applies to other cities as well.

So too, in many of our southern cities: Negroes live in the same areas and on the same streets with whites and there is no exodus by the whites. This, of course, is due to the dominant position of the whites in the South, and the resultant absence of the above-mentioned fears, but it illustrates, by an extreme instance, that it is the operation of these fears rather than the presence of the minority that precipitates shifts in the racial composition of a neighborhood.

Public housing projects further prove the point. Where

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the new housing development is a self-contained community, creating its own environment, fixing the long-term patterns of living, and removing the fear that any single race might overwhelm the neighborhood in disproportionate numbers, the project offers no serious race problem despite its mixed tenantry.

If Negroes were accepted as tenants in large private developments, such as Stuyvesant Town, no resistance from white tenants is indicated so long as they could consider the area settled in character and racial composition. No fear of a mass invasion by the minority would be stimulated. The presence of Negroes in the project would not, in itself, disturb either the owner's investment or the tenants' social status.

Limiting the number of tenants of any one race in a large-scale project has been criticized as a "quota system." But policy need not prescribe a quota for any one group any more than it does for another. While there should be no fixed rule for selecting tenants by racial percentages, the effort to attain representation of all races in newly created neighborhoods is essential to sound tenant selection policy. Intelligent policy would weigh such factors as character and responsibility of the potential tenants, regardless of race, as well as their ability to cohere into a community.

Unless all races are represented in the creation of new neighborhoods, the ghetto will never be broken up and housing operations will simply replace old ghettoes with new. To effect a heterogeneous pattern, the redistribution of races in new neighborhoods is indispensable. The fundamental principle of equality of opportunity in public and publicly aided projects is, of course, paramount. But once that principle is established, common-sense administration will conform not only to it but also to the other considerations in tenant selection that make for a successful neighborhood relationship and the dissolution of the ghetto pattern. Common sense, in fact, will go far toward meeting the complex issues involved.

This does not mean that, in a rehousing program, neighborhoods inhabited by a single race should be immediately broken up and their occupants absorbed by forced draft into separated sections. Education of the minority is as essential as education of the majority in interracial living, and this may be a long process. Many families are accustomed to their present neighborhoods, preferring to live with their own people and enjoy a common social and cultural life. But the choice should remain theirs. Under no circumstances should there be an arbitrary division of the new neighborhoods into homogeneous groupings deliberately set up to respect class or racial lines.

Neither minority groups nor the public in general have shown an awareness of the greater implications of housing programs. Minorities often seek projects for their particular race alone, rather than protesting their new isolation in these developments. It would be far better, in the long run, if they got less housing but were represented in all new developments.

WITH a need for homes for twenty million families during the next decade, with a vast government-aided home-building program inevitable if the housing log-jam is to be broken, and with more than a third of our families living in slums that must be replaced sooner or later by new neighborhoods, America faces a dramatic challenge. It can either create neighborhood patterns in which its races may be integrated, or it can stratify existing patterns for generations ahead. Or, worse still, its minorities may be drawn from presently mixed neighborhoods and corralled into new segregated sections. It is therefore vital to understand the problem and the implications of the present opportunity.

The government housing program thus involves more than housing. It is a proving ground on which the practical validity of a great ideal can and should be demonstrated—or upon which may be shattered any hope of ever again creating the environment necessary for a new interracial understanding. Federal policy, above all, must be directed toward building mixed neighborhoods, like those in the housing projects, in which educational processes can have a fair chance of operating.

Winning the battle against segregation will not be easy. It will require not only courage, but statesmanship. It will entail understanding, by the minorities, of the bigger stakes involved. It may be necessary for them to subordinate the doctrinaire to the practical upon occasion. They will have to weigh the probable gains in one area of legislation against the probable losses in another. They should weigh the relative advantages of local, decentralized operations over federally centralized operations. Minorities must recognize that, while a decentralized program will not win interracial living in all places, local gains are vital gains and far more constructive than mere declarations of equality on the federal level which have little chance of being honored in actual application.

There should, however, be no retreat from gains already achieved. Public education and civil rights legislation must go hand in hand. Education must not only precede the fight but continue after the victory, until the civil right is established in tradition as well as in law.

THERE are other specific advances to be fought for: Progressive opinion should be mobilized to press for legislation providing an adequate number of dwellings at rents all families can afford.

The successful formula of interracial occupancy, adopted by the many local agencies, should be continued and expanded wherever possible. Information on successful experiences of interracial occupancy should be

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disseminated for the guidance of all local authorities and to help them in extending such policies. Indifference, fear of furthering the experiment, misinformation, and ill-informed pronouncements have deterred progress when proper information might have advanced it.

The creation, by public and private enterprise, of new neighborhoods with self-contained environments should be promoted as the most effective means of increasing understanding between races and decreasing discrimination. Heterogeneity, not homogeneity, should be the aim.

Federally-owned housing projects should be enjoined against discrimination as to race, color, or religion. Nor should discrimination or segregation be encouraged, directly or indirectly, by federal agencies. The devitalized federal civil rights acts, which ostensibly grant Negroes equal rights in the purchase and lease of real property, should be strengthened so as to embrace and restrain federal discriminatory practices.

Wherever the public extends its aid or lends its powers to any public or private agency, neither segregation nor discrimination are tolerable and should be barred by the enabling legislation. Public aid must be liberally construed to include assistance, either by loan of credit or otherwise. So too, when governmental power alone is given in aid of a private enterprise. If, for example, the power of eminent domain is employed to assist a private company to acquire land, discrimination must be forbidden though the project be in private ownership.

Real property must be subjected to public control when its use results in the exclusion of vast masses of citizens from shelter. The racial restrictive covenant is such an abuse of private property; it is contrary to the public interest and should be invalidated both by statute and judicial holding.

FEDERAL intervention in housing has created another opportunity to demonstrate that people can live together as neighbors regardless of race or color. No more than an experiment a decade ago, it has become a frontier today. Upon the evolution of government housing policy in the next few years hangs the question of whether the environment will now ever again be restored to the point where educational processes can function.

We can continue to countenance racial segregation, exclude prescribed groups, incite racial tensions, optimistically hope that the imaginary walls against infiltration will remain unbroken, continue to acquiesce in a scheme of living that is a challenge, not only to real estate stability, but to common-sense democracy.

Or we can, at long last, try to break through the barriers that have stood in the way of real racial harmony and understanding. The choice may be hard to make and the program difficult to carry out, but the public housing experiment has demonstrated that it can be done if only we rise to the occasion.

# *In the Wind*

THE WIND whipped through Greenwich Village last week, trying to bring relief to some of the more deserving, these summer dog-days. But even better relief is in store for Villagers, soon. Whitewash letters two feet high are scrawled on the windows of an empty store, across the street from the Eighth Street Playhouse. They promise, with immense excitement, that "Shapiro is Coming!"

RELIEF OF ANOTHER SORT is in store for Greece, as we all know. But perhaps the Omaha *World Herald* dropped a brick on July 13 when it declared that "Greece's food requirements may cut deeper than expected into Greek aid funds." From Athens itself, by the way, comes the word that Parliament Street has been rechristened "Argentine Democracy Street," and Stadium Street will be known henceforth—officially—as "Churchill Street." A secret operative on the spot informs the Wind that he overheard an Athenian remark the other day, "If Washington would give another million, the Greek government would gladly call Athens 'Trumansburg.'"

THE AMERICAN POLITICAL ARENA has been entered, for the first time, by the vegetarians, who claim 3,000,000 adherents in this country. Several weeks ago, they nominated Dr. John Maxwell, of Chicago, for President of the United States. Watch it, Harry, Harold, Arthur, Doug, and Robert Alphonso!

SPEAKING OF WHOM, the Wind has been tipped off to the following lines which are to be found in Pierce Egan's edition of Grose's "Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue," published in London in 1823: "TORY. An advocate for absolute monarchy and church power: also, an Irish vagabond, robber, or rapparee." The suggested etymology, the Wind's tipper-offer goes on to say, is entirely accurate. The ultimate source of the world is the Gaelic *toraighe*: "pursuer."

A COUPLE OF *TORAIGHES* have gotten loose in Rapid City, South Dakota, where all biology books have been banned which contain "teaching of atheistic evolution."

TO BE WELL EDUCATED, however, is still of some advantage. As witness this Sears, Roebuck ad in a recent issue of the Baton Rouge *State-Times:* "Need aggressive, enthusiastic, young college man or woman. . . . Permanent. Must be able to typewrite, spell. . . ."

NOTHING WRONG WITH the spelling of the New York *Times,* which informed its readers recently that one of the films to be preserved in the Library of Congress would be "The Best Years of Our Liver."

[*We invite our readers to contribute to In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.*]

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# *Who's to Blame for High Prices?*

BY SOLOMON BARKIN

THE President's challenge to industry to reduce prices is being heeded by few sellers. Retailers already overstocked with goods of war-time quality are seeking to move them with publicity streamers heralding sales. But many of the most ardent price cutters are barred from following even this course by state price-maintenance laws. The more ambitious projects, such as the "Newburyport Plan," proved less spectacular than the headlines. The Newburyport publicity became so disturbing to free enterprise, however, that the Boston Better Business Bureau rushed into print to reassure everybody that these heretical merchants had not reduced —had not even agreed to reduce—*all* prices by 10 per cent. What finally put the quietus on the Newburyport experiment was the refusal of wholesalers and manufacturers to play ball by cutting prices for the merchants.

Manufacturers' announcements of price cuts usually prove, on investigation, to be phony. In many cases, producers have merely brought their prices into line with those of other manufacturers. The overwhelming fact is that the basic industries, in which there is restricted competition, have not reduced prices. All published reports bear out this conclusion. The current N. A. M. poll of its members confirmed that no price cuts are reported in the glass, cement, clay products, iron and steel, machinery, heavy equipment, ore and coal industries. One large manufacturer of electrical goods announced price increases. This was before the recent rise in coal and steel prices.*

Why is production, now at an all-time high, not pressing prices downward? With labor peace prevalent, whom are we to blame? Long ago, the N. A. M. assured those who differed with it that prices would fall with the end of OPA. Instead, they rose. Why?

We knew the answers to the present price question as early as 1940. The depression of the thirties had made us search deeply into our economy. The Temporary National Economic Commission summarized our conclusions. Unfortunately, the war shelved its findings.

What determines the course of prices in this country is the existence, or non-existence, of competition among producers. Competition is the only effective force we now have. If it is insufficient to drive down prices, then we must return to the controls we discussed in the late thirties and put into effect during the war. All recent investigations show that business concentration increased during and after the war. Industrial mergers have mounted. In large sectors of American industry, a few producers dominate the market. They are not competitors in the old sense; they are semi-monopolistic competitors who respect each other's right to live and live well. Ruthless competitive forces do not fix their prices. The prices are wilfully set by producers who keep their own interests keenly in mind. True, prices are developed with some eye to the market, but that is a conditioning, not a determining, force.

In an economic world of "big business," what chances are there for price cuts? The answer to this question must be sought in the code of business practice developed by these big business organizations.

LET us examine this code. Its first and major plank is an aversion to price reduction. Businessmen don't like price cuts even when prices have been jockeyed to their present unreasonable heights. Price cuts do not guarantee the individual price cutter a market, since other producers are apt to follow suit. This means price wars, and price wars are destructive and costly. The recent clamor to exempt general price cutting from the anti-trust law was inspired by a desire to arrange orderly price reductions by collusion and so prevent them from "disorganizing the market." Businessmen prefer, and some state laws require, that the "adjustments" take the form of concessions rather than outright price cuts.

In the semi-monopolistic branches of American industry, which cover the great mass of American manufacturing divisions, the manufacturer is under no market compulsion. Interested in maximum profits rather than full employment or production, he is reluctant deliberately to reduce prices. Moreover, the manufacturer frequently has no information on the potential volume of sales for different prices. He plots his price course by hearsay, past experience, and prejudice. That is one reason why the benefits of technological savings are only slowly passed on to the consumer. During the twenties, few of these were transmitted in the form of lower prices or higher wages. Governmental action and union organization improved the situation during the thirties. These decades should have taught us not to rely extensively on management's voluntary policies, not to expect that either lower prices or higher wages would normally result from technological savings.

The second plank in this big-business code is to rely on non-price competition to develop markets. Producers

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* See Keith Hutchison's article, Too Little and Too Dear, on page 165 —EDITORS.

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try to capture markets, not through lower prices, but by advertising and by emphasis on quality, service, performance, brand names and other product characterizations. This form of competition appears to assure greater consumer loyalty and to prove effective in driving out rivals. Moreover, it is less offensive to public morality.

The farther a producer is removed from the consumer's market, as in the case of the capital goods industries, the less sensitive he is to the need for reducing prices. His concentration on non-price competition blinds him to the potential value of price reductions to the national economy. It even encourages him in his efforts to restrain competition. Producers try increasingly to solve the problems of the contracting market through reduced production rather than lower prices, thus intensifying the forces hastening business contraction. Already, we are witnessing numerous instances where trade associations, as in the case of the coat-and-suit and textile industries, are cautioning their members against overproduction and urging them to curtail output. So deeply entrenched is this fear of price cuts, that the businessman's first thought, even when prices are inflated by extensive shortages, is to reduce operations rather than expand demand through lowered prices.

The third plank is to produce goods intended primarily for the middle income groups and to say to hell with the great mass of American workers and farmers on the lower income levels. The emphasis on non-price factors has meant a concentration on quality-product characteristics. Frills have been multiplied. Costs of products have been built up. This means that large groups of consumers are cut out altogether, opportunities for economic expansion are limited, and the standard of living of millions of Americans is repressed.

The fourth plank is to hedge against a possible depression. There is no confidence in continued prosperity. Business wants prices that will yield profits in good times and bad. Mr. Irving S. Olds, chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, in reporting first-quarter 1947 profits, declared that "we must make money in a period like this to accumulate funds to take care of a period when operations may be at a considerably lower rate. We know that we cannot expect the great operating rates of the present time to continue." Other businessmen reflect that if prices are low when business is good, it is not possible to increase them when business is bad and when costs are higher due to the lower volume.

American business, which calculates its prices on a cost-plus basis, sets them on the assumption of a low level of operations. The overhead cost per unit of output is therefore high. In 1945, over one hundred American industries reported to the War Production Board that they had distributed their overhead costs on the assumption that they would operate at only 52 per cent of capacity. It has been estimated that the break-even point for American industry in 1946 was 60 per cent. It is doubtless lower now. When demand is great, as it has been, profits are high—fabulously high. Mr. Olds, in his previously quoted statement, intimated that after the 15 cents wage increase, the break-even point was at about 65 per cent of capacity.

THE results of this business code are disastrous. We are distributing income at the rate of $185 billions; we are producing at the rate of $224 billions. The gap means depression. Declining demand will discourage producers. They will, as they are already beginning to do, curtail operations. A serious recession is in the making. In fact, it may be said to have begun. It is being considerably modified, at the moment, by the wave of wage increases recently negotiated by trade unions. They are primarily responsible for the recent upsurge in business. But the over-all situation demands drastic measures.

A constructive program now can do much to offset the depression-creating effects of current business price policies:

1. The present round of wage increases must quickly be applied to all types of workers in addition to organized industrial employees.

2. Federal and state public panels, manned by representatives of business, labor and the consumer, must be established to review complaints on the price and production policies of individual businesses. These panels are not merely intended as an emergency measure: they must be permanent. They must be endowed with as much power as is politically feasible, so that they can collect facts, hear the complaints of individual citizens, and enforce correct price and production policies. The test of their effectiveness will not be the implementation of anti-trust laws but the promotion of a stable economy of full employment with an ever rising standard of living.

3. We must immediately require the disclosure by businesses of their annual financial and cost statements and their tax returns, to facilitate public study of their practices.

4. We should demand the repeal of all state price-maintenance laws which were enacted in an underemployed economy.

5. The government should aid and encourage scientific study to facilitate the development of competitive products. Compulsory licensing of all patents must also be an essential part of this program.

A realistic program must start with the recognition that we live in an economy in which price competition no longer prevails in vast areas of American industry. The proposed program is intended to awaken the American people to the fact that American business follows semi-monopolistic pricing and production policies and practices.

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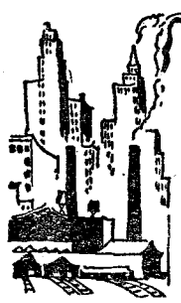

# EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

## Too Little and Too Dear

IN THEIR apologias for price increases, the steel tycoons give the impression that they are surprised at their own moderation. Chairman Irving S. Olds of United States Steel has asserted that steel prices have risen much less than those of most commodities. In order to match the average advance in the wholesale commodity index since 1940, he said, they should have risen not 7 per cent but more than 50 per cent. The American Iron and Steel Institute has advertised the fact that steel is the cheapest of metals—only 3½ cents a pound. (Is steel sold by the pound?) It claims that labor and material costs have risen by some $600,000,000 since the beginning of the year, nearly twice the amount of additional revenue that the price increases will produce.

*Iron Age,* the industry's trade paper, says that the new prices will cost steel consumers $370,000,000 annually. This may not seem a large amount when set against a national gross income of $220 billion. Moreover, the steel-using industries are generally so prosperous that they could, if they so desired, absorb this extra cost from profits. It is doubtful if many of them will do so; with demand for automobiles, refrigerators, building materials, and countless other articles still running ahead of demand, higher steel prices are likely to be passed on to ultimate consumers on a cost-plus basis.

But even though higher steel costs are no excuse for a general rise in industrial prices, the steel industry's action is hard to justify. Certainly, justification cannot be found in the industry's earnings for the first six months of 1947. Much has been made of the fact that in the second quarter there was, apparently, a sharp decline in profits, as compared with those of the exceptionally profitable first quarter. There is, however, some reason to believe that this decline is partly due to padding of expenses. For instance, operating income of United States Steel (proceeds from sales less employment and material costs) was $89,365,000 in the first quarter and $91,859,000 in the second. Yet a fall of some $10,000,000 in net profits is reported. The explanation is simple. In the three months, April-June, the corporation paid about $6,000,000 more in local taxes than in the first quarter—apparently a normal difference between the two periods. The remainder of the reported fall in net profits is more than covered by an increase in depreciation reserves, made necessary, according to Mr. Olds, by the higher cost of replacements. Thus, if the accounts for the two periods had been drawn up on a strictly comparable basis, earnings for the second quarter would have been slightly higher than those for the first.

Another fact shown by study of United States Steel's reports is that the 12 per cent wage increase won in April has added very little to the corporation's unit labor costs. Comparing the first and second quarters of this year, we find that the ratio of labor costs to sales rose less than one per cent. Obviously, greater labor productivity is largely offsetting the wage increase and this is also indicated by the fact that shipments of finished steel per head of the working force were nearly one ton more in the second quarter than in the first.

Again, if we compare United States Steel earnings for the first six months with those in other prosperous periods in the past, it is plain the price rise cannot be excused by a plea of low profits. The total net for the period was $68,571,379. Assuming that the second half of the year brings equally favorable results—and with the price increase plus the near certainty of continuous capacity operations, they may very well be still better—the total for the year will exceed $133,000,000. Only three times in its history, in 1916, 1917, and 1929, has the corporation turned in larger earnings than this. In three prosperous prewar years—1937, 1940, and 1941—profits were $94,900,000, $102,200,000, and $116,200,000, respectively.

Steel claims that it is a "feast or famine" industry and must, therefore, be permitted to earn enough in good years to provide for improvements and expansion. At the present time, it is true, the big steel concerns are spending large sums on capital account. But, although the industry is quite unable to meet current demand for steel, with the result that production in many steel-using industries is curtailed, it is not adding to basic capacity. It is, to some extent, expanding plant for turning out finished products in especially short supply, such as steel sheets, but, for the most part, the purpose of its capital expenditure is the reduction of costs.

This is a perfectly legitimate and even laudable objective. But taken in conjunction with a firm refusal to increase basic capacity, it suggests that the aim of the industry is not to provide a basis for cheaper steel but to cut back "break-even" points to an extent that will enable it to sit out the next depression comfortably.

Big steel men are gloomily addicted to the theory that the American economy is stagnant. They have no faith in prolonged full production and full employment. They do not believe that, in future years, average annual consumption of steel will do more than keep pace with the population. Consequently, they are hotly disputing the conclusions of highly competent government economists who predict a steadily rising trend in the per capita consumption of steel. Dr. Louis Bean, economic adviser to the Secretary of Agriculture, has shown, for instance, that in prosperous 1941, steel output was equal to 1.7 tons for every employed worker in the country. On this basis, employment at the level of 60,000,000 jobs would indicate a need for over 100,000,000 tons, while present maximum capacity is about 91,000,000. Steel industry leaders reject this reasoning. They estimate requirements at no more than 76,000,000 tons in 1950, and 78,000,000 in 1955. If they are right, it means heavy unemployment ahead. That, of course, is just what they expect and, in order to play safe, they want to keep capacity limited and prices high. It's a first-class example of the monopoly tactics which private enterprise is following to disaster.

[*This page will not appear for some weeks while Keith Hutchison is on vacation.*]

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# BOOKS and the ARTS

## NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

WHAT THIS COUNTRY needs is a thoroughgoing cultural revolution, and it might well begin with a revolt against the food served in most restaurants.

Some time ago, I went to a French restaurant which is supposed to be one of the best in the country and is certainly one of the most expensive. The place was noisy and crowded to a degree no self-respecting restaurateur would tolerate, and the food was—mediocre. Only the wine, which came from France, was what it should have been. For the rest, the *mise en scène* bore about as much resemblance to a genuine French restaurant as waterlogged string beans to genuine *haricots verts*.

I wish I could report that some of the noise was the sound of angry patrons protesting against the flouting of every principle of good eating, but the patrons were as docile as lambs.

"Bad taste leads to crime." But in this country, it is not so much bad taste as the docility with which mediocrity is accepted that leads to the commercialized vice of serving bad food. One has only to listen to a discussion of dining in America to realize that the public taste is far better than the quality of public food would indicate. But in this, as in more crucial matters, Americans combine a marvelous talent for grousing in public with a capacity that passes belief for taking what is offered in public. In dining, as in politics, they choose what seems to them the better of two bad dishes, thereby insuring that, next time, both dishes will be worse.

In almost any eating place in France, one can, or could, get good food, well cooked. This was the delightful end-product of a long tradition of good cooking, in turn the result of a long tradition of demanding good food, upheld by who knows how many explosions of French temper set off by lapses from the norm. American cooking, at its best, is also excellent. But Americans, lacking the sanction and support of tradition—which they scorn, anyway—assume that what they eat, like what they see and listen to, is something for which they have no responsibility and over which they have no control. When they do get good food—which is likely to turn up in very unlikely places, for the good cook with a sense of honor often pursues his art in an obscure kitchen—they regard it not as their due but as a special dispensation. And given their passivity, so it is.

This passivity is, I'm sure, partly the effect of bad cooking. For there is nothing more boring or frustrating than a bad meal, involving as it does not only the actual horror of the food itself but contemplation of the waste and despoilation of what was originally good and promising material. Frustration long drawn out enervates the spirit, and, in the end, renders its victims so helpless that they are not only incapable of protesting against bad food but of denying that what they get is "what the people want."

One can only hope that someday someone will throw a blue plate at a restaurant keeper's head. It might release the pent-up energies of a people who always expect too much and invariably demand too little. Yours for the revulsion.

THE SHORTER FICTIONS, most of them fantasies, of E. M. Forster, hitherto hard to come by in this country, have now been brought out in "The Collected Tales of E. M. Forster" (Knopf, $2.75).

As Lionel Trilling says in his excellent study of Forster, the two stories which are not fantasies, The Road to Colonus and The Eternal Moment, endure best and are of particular interest because they contain in embryo the themes, symbols, and ideas of Forster's five novels; the others are not wholly satisfying, though they sometimes have wit or point or charm.

They are, moreover, uneven in conception and execution. The Other Side of the Hedge is definitely a failure on both counts. The Machine Stops, a "counterblast to one of the heavens of H. G. Wells," is heavy-handed and too long.

But stories like Other Kingdom, The Curate's Friend, and The Celestial Omnibus, particularly the first, in which a young girl escapes her conventional husband and his world by fleeing into a beech wood and turning into a tree, have always pleased me. All of them are nicely turned and well-placed darts in the bourgeois hide. Aside from that, they yield the limited but special pleasure one gets from watching the informal experimental exercises rather than the final formal performances of an artist who seems to enjoy his work.

I shouldn't label such stories summer reading, because summer reading in the conventional sense bores me. Still, they should be very appropriate for a reader in the precarious embrace of a hammock slung from two presumably stable trees and suspended between an earth and a sky which will presumably keep their appointed places.

The other day, my favorite radio columnist, John Crosby, reported an innovation on the air—a new kind of two-part singing in which one singer handled the lower notes and another took care of the higher reaches. Wait till Petrillo hears about it. Before we know it, singers will be assigned their octaves, and broadcasters will have to hire two or more singers for each song or pay for standbys for all notes above or below the union scale.

Two correspondents have reminded me that "The Wings of the Dove" is now available in the Modern Library. Which is fine—but it doesn't exactly fill my bill for an inexpensive edition of all the works of Henry James.

### The Crucial Problem

*PATRIOTISM OR PEACE?* By Adam de Hegedus. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.

THIS is an excellent book, brilliantly written; unfortunately, its title is incorrect, and so is its conclusion. Patriotism is not the antithesis of peace—unless we substitute, for love of country, love of more and more country, as Haldane's "patriots" do. The antithesis of peace is war, and whoever chooses this alternative may be either a fool or a scoundrel, but certainly no patriot.

The jacket tells us that the author comes of a family with a title four hun-

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dred years old; it neglects to say that Mr. de Hegedus, before the war, was the London correspondent of a chauvinistic Hungarian newspaper. The fact is apropos, because it lends even greater force to his all-out attack on nationalism.

In a profound and poignant analysis, Mr. de Hegedus shows that nationality cannot be reduced to race or language, and that, whatever its spiritual sources, nationalism is entirely the product of environment and education. I would not agree with his contention that "nationalism in turn intensified the desire for democracy"—certainly it is not supported by the example of Poland or Hungary, where the intensely nationalistic squirearchy did its utmost to prevent democratic development. Nor would I subscribe to the statement that Hitler's diagnosis "was correct . . . the world had a great desire to be united, even by force." Most of the countries which the Nazis overran did not exactly manifest such a desire, and Mr. de Hegedus himself makes the contradictory statements that "nationalism . . . is urgently separatist in character" and that "the nation-state as such wishes to be independent." But his diagnosis of nationalism as "the most widely used dangerous mental drug in our time" is masterly and sound.

Mr. de Hegedus's style is fascinating—a successful blend of English scholarship with the wit of a Hungarian journalist. His scholarship is made evident by his thorough knowledge of the relevant literature and his lack of bias. His wit is wise: "After the outbreak of peace, lies should be the first casualties." Or, "It is part of our tragedy that whereas the true story of the past, for most people, is a book written in a foreign language, the story of the present is written in invisible ink."

The journalist in him occasionally shows itself in factual inaccuracies. Thus, he mistakes Paul Valéry for the "frightened poet-ambassador" Paul Claudel. He claims that Hungary had 25,000,000 inhabitants, whereas the population, including Croatia, never exceeded 20,000,000. And he is even more inexact when he says that "Twelve million Hungarians ruled over 25,000,000 members of subject races." In speaking of the "grand total of 16,000,000 Jews living at present," the author apparently overlooked the so far uncounted millions wiped out by the Nazis and their associates. Finally, Luther, in many respects a forerunner of the Nazis, did not translate the Bible into "his own mother tongue, called today Middle German," but combined the German that was spoken around Meissen in Saxony with the German of the Imperial Chancery, *Kanzleideutsch*, to create the *Neuhochdeutsch* which, according to Professor Munro Chadwick, came to be generally accepted as the standard language of the schools.

These inaccuracies, however, are only minor blemishes on Mr. de Hegedus's fine portrait of nationalism. His diagnosis is not matched by his suggested cure. Not only does he indulge in the paradox that "war comes when the horrors of peace exercise a more powerful impression than the horrors of war," but he also believes that power politics is a necessity. By putting power into the service of a moral purpose, he asserts, force will create the unity of large areas first, and bring about, in an unpredictable future, the unity of the world. This, however, presupposes that power should be recognized by "the majority of the world as a moral purpose." His solution, I am afraid, begs the question. If the effective use of force depends on the recognition of its morality by the majority, why cannot this majority-morality put its will into effect without using violence? As long as nationalism has to be fought with A-bombs and rockets, the medicine would appear to be even more dangerous than the disease itself.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

## The Composition of Living

*INDIRECTIONS FOR THOSE WHO WANT TO WRITE.* By Sidney Cox. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.

SIDNEY COX has been teaching writing, reading, and the composition of living for nearly thirty years: first at Columbia, then at Montana, and for the last twenty years at Dartmouth. The dominant lines of what he has taught—and learned—are pulled together in this extraordinarily suggestive, wise, instructive, witty, and truly seminal book. I will state at once my conviction that everybody ought to read it.

Probably I ought to add that I studied with Mr. Cox for three years at Dartmouth, that he is the only man who ever "taught" me anything I found useful about writing, and that he was the strongest "faculty influence" on me and my closest friends. That makes me suspect as a reviewer, no doubt: maybe the book seems so important to me because it is a notebook on a three-year course, you say. Perhaps; but I don't believe it. Within the interstices of this condensed and artfully deceptive simplicity there is room for play—including by-play and inter-play. The wise words on composition are themselves beautifully composed, and it is not necessary that the reader be a Coxian initiate for him to be instructed and amused, and to come forth the wiser for his pains.

Mr. Cox's theme is composition. He states it baldly at the outset:

> The act of composition is performed by all of us. Every time we make up our minds we compose. We change the composition of ourselves and of the world. Where there is life at all there is a constant forming. And the fun and joy in living comes when we make incompatibles unite.
>
> "Indirections"—which also might be called Out of Conflicts Composition—is therefore not exclusively "for those who want to write." It offers itself, as half a conversation, to all who want to make anything—anything but money.

Although "Indirections" does address itself always to the manifold problems, including punctuation and even marketing, of ordering experience and communicating it through the written word, this statement is to be taken as literal truth. For Mr. Cox knows, and teaches, that good writers are those who have something to say and who have to say it. He is therefore as concerned with what they have to say as he is with the way they say it. It follows that what he himself says about making something meaningful of life applies with as much force to painters, musicians, teachers, preachers, mothers, and lovers as to writers. And for him, a good writer is one who also lives, in part at least and however imperfectly, the lives of some of these others. The good writer makes a composition of his own life before he can achieve his end: to make a reader (one will do) "turn a corner or a hair." By this composing he achieves the maturity which admits the

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equal validity in life of "joy, irony, tragedy, and faith."

This is not an easy doctrine, with its insistence on the ambiguities of life, its risky demand that we seek meaning first and security second—or last. Writers who are obsessed with the chaos of our time will sneer at the book's assertion that meaning can still be wrought from existence. Doctrinaire thinkers will snort at its injunction to reconcile irreconcilables—"right" and "left" are not only used symbolically here. Concocters of busty best-sellers will not even bother about it.

But it will be a continual source of inspiration and illumination to those who have loved Lewis Carroll and Molière, Tolstoy and Hemingway, Cervantes and Robert Frost, Dostoevsky and Herman Melville, Shakespeare and Chaucer; to those who want to write from feeling and living for the delight and enrichment of more than a coterie; and to those who, writers or not, are absorbed in the process by which men "gain their minute of composure and just a breath of confidence for the long succession of composings that is staying alive."

CHARLES G. BOLTÉ

## Robert Schumann

*ON MUSIC AND MUSICIANS.* By Robert Schumann. Edited by Konrad Wolff. Translated by Paul Rosenfeld. Pantheon Press. $3.75.

THE later reputations of the dominant nineteenth-century music critics—Hector Berlioz, Robert Schumann, Eduard Hanslick, and George Bernard Shaw—form a collection of curious and depressing stories. Berlioz has been systematically misrepresented; Hanslick has been systematically vilified; and Shaw has been systematically ignored; while Schumann, conversely, has been systematically overpraised.

Schumann alive was regarded by many of his contemporary purveyors of musical culture as an irresponsible, perhaps even dangerous, radical. But Schumann dead was taken up and almost deified in Germany as the ideal critic. German musical hegemony leaves little room for an outside opinion; the correct view of Schumann the critic was impressed on the musical world, and one may safely say that for seventy years it has not been seriously challenged. The present edition has inspired a rash of articles in the American musical press, all chanting his praises—and demonstrating that the process of glorification is a continuing one.

However, the "correct" view can be maintained only by those who neglect to wade through the bulk of Schumann's reviews: the famous pieces on Chopin, Berlioz, and Brahms are known by everybody, but they afford only an incomplete, though not uncharacteristic, picture. The reviews of hundreds of forgotten compositions by scores of forgotten composers are necessary to correct and complete that picture.

Schumann's most characteristic critical reaction—to which attention has occasionally been called—was a tendency toward overpraise. Besides being natural with him, this tendency was also partly the manifestation of the particular critical hobby-horse Schumann rode. In itself, a hobby-horse is nothing—one remembers at once Berlioz and the appoggiatura, Hanslick and Brahms, Shaw and Wagner, while the critic without any hobby-horse is apt to be a critic with nothing on (or in) his mind. The difference is that Schumann was riding a dogma having little to do with music, and one for which we can have only a jaundiced regard today. Schumann was an active pan-German and spent his entire critical career urging on, for the greater glory of German music, every English, German, Dutch, and Danish nonentity who showed any promise whatsoever; while at the same time he tended to regard anything that came out of France (with the conspicuous exception of Berlioz, too great a figure to be ignored), Italy (above all), and even Vienna (although he tried, unsuccessfully, to move his journal there) as a bad influence on German music until proved differently.

Schumann also had, I fear, a mushy soul, of a sort particularly distasteful today. In any event, his prose does not survive its period very successfully; it gushes, endlessly. We find in it none of the crispness and élan which make Berlioz and Shaw, writing about forgotten people and events of fifty and a hundred years ago, still scandalously readable. Schumann's use of the *Davidsbündler* must be regarded as an expression of this mushy quality, which I take to represent the feebler elements of high German romanticism, although the

## Journey

Between this and that other country
is neither barricade nor sentry.

Plausible under elm and maple
past the train window move the people,

no foreign air in face or clothing,
nothing to warn me, nothing, nothing—

no signboard's word to tell me whether
this is one country or the other.

Yet once arrived, without confusion
I move expertly through the station:

no stranger whom the traffic vexes,
I can evade the trucks and taxis:

sure-footed sleepwalker, I saunter
across the park, see without wonder

the War Memorial, the benches,
familiar sun, familiar branches.

I wait the proper bus, and waiting
hear my name called in sudden greeting—

and find my own responses come
apt in the local idiom.

CONSTANCE CARRIER

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dramatic presentation of criticism can be done brilliantly, as Berlioz has demonstrated.

It cannot be denied that Schumann was perfectly sincere and completely honest in his opinions; indeed, this is the one aspect of his work to retain a strong claim on our affections. He detested what he considered sham and occasionally brought himself to the point of being blunt and brutal with it, wreaking particular havoc among the flourishing virtuoso piano junk being ground out by the mile by the Thalbergs and Czernys. He did encourage, to the limit of his abilities, such younger composers as came within his pan-Germanic plans; and along with Gade, Bennett, Hirschbach, Norbert Burgmüller, Verhulst, and Franz, he did introduce Berlioz, Chopin, and Brahms to Germany.

Attempting today to estimate his contemporary influence is somewhat difficult, but it was probably less than his propagandists have represented. Historically, his position has long been secure; but of all the important critics of his century, he is probably the least interesting intrinsically, and the one most visibly dated by the passage of time.

The present volume of selections from Schumann's criticisms is obviously intended to perpetuate the mythical Schumann among the lay public rather than afford a representative conspectus of the work of the actual Schumann. It is an excellent example of what I would call perversion by editorial malpractice. The famous pieces on the famous composers are included; the equally enthusiastic pieces on the gentry who fell by the wayside, as well as the characteristic notices on the contemporary virtuoso literature, are ignored except for a purely token representation (Gade, Lachner, Czerny) tucked away at the end. For the uncritical amateur enthusiast, the book may have some value; for the reader genuinely interested in Schumann, it cannot be recommended. Editorially, the book is a genuine curiosity: a thing of snippets and clippings and disemboweled torsos. The editor declares that "the edition is complete as far as Schumann's writings on the great composers is concerned," but he was so obsessed with the notion that anything which could be regarded as merely topical should be expunged that even the notices printed in something like their original shape are full of excisions. Occasionally, he condescends to indicate the cuts, but just as frequently he fails to bother; so only a page-by-page comparison with the original will show where and what has been eliminated.

The translation is attributed to the late Paul Rosenfeld; and the editor goes out of his way, in his introduction, to denounce the translation by Fanny Ritter (1877), previously the only one, and still the only complete one in English. But a comparison of the two shows that Rosenfeld's "translation" is nothing but Ritter patched, and frequently little patched at that. Schumann's preface and the scattered quotations from letters not included in Ritter—perhaps twenty pages in all—are indeed newly translated; but everything else is mere revision, and concerns itself largely with style, not sense.

CHARLES B. FARRELL

## New Horizons

*ON UNDERSTANDING SCIENCE.* An Historical Approach. By James B. Conant. Yale University Press. $2.

PRESIDENT CONANT has become a distinguished educator. But we should remember that before he became president of Harvard he was a very distinguished chemist. It is but natural, therefore, that he should stress the importance of science as part of an educational curriculm.

This book—the result of a series of lectures delivered at Yale University—deals with Dr. Conant's views on how best to instil the spirit of science into young men who are to be our lawyers, writers, politicians, business men—into everybody, in short, except the young men who are to form our army of scientists. The object, that of making non-science students familiar with the "scientific spirit," is not new; the method proposed, however, does not altogether follow a familiar pattern.

Some twenty years ago, the University of Chicago started "survey courses" in science for non-science students, and the plan was adopted by many colleges throughout the country. Some of the texts prepared for use in such "outlines" show refreshing sparks, but, up to the present, such courses have not proved conspicuous successes. Having had some experience with these outlines, I have come to the sad conclusion that the excellence of a text is no measure of how successfully it can be applied in lecture and laboratory work.

Dr. Conant's book is not another science "outline." Here we find a rather detailed study of several "case histories"—of how a few scientists "stumbled through thickets of erroneous observations." The lucid exposition is intriguing, and one is tempted to shout, "Here, at last, is *the* book," were it not for the after-thought that there may be many a slip between book and classroom. I am told that Dr. Conant is teaching (or will teach) the course at Harvard. We shall have to be patient for another year or two for the postscript which Dr. Conant will undoubtedly furnish us.

The "case histories" studied deal with the lives and activities of a few outstanding men of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when experimental work was relatively simple, and, therefore, more easily understood by the layman than the scientific activities of our day. With much detail, and with emphasis on problems which had to be overcome, the works of Boyle dealing with the pressure exerted by the atmosphere, of Galvani and Volta and their electric battery, of Lavoisier and combustion, among others, are illustrated. Selections are made with an eye to bringing out certain common attributes: new techniques, such as the use of mercury to make a barometer, and the invention of the air pump; new concepts, such as the substitution of the idea that "nature abhors a vacuum" by the concept that air exerts pressure; and difficulties of experimentation. An attempt is made—but rather cautiously explored—to show interconnections between science and society.

Throughout the book, Dr. Conant makes it clear that he is not much interested in adding to the store of scientific knowledge which the student may possess, but rather to giving him an "understanding" of science—an object, which, on paper at least, he has carried out admirably. And such attempts as this distinguished chemist makes here should be multiplied; for, to take one example of paramount importance, our statesmen in Washington, who have to deal with the disposal of the atomic bomb, show, on the whole, an abysmal

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ignorance of anything approaching the physical sciences. For them—and for others—the book by Conant (coupled with Hecht's "Explaining the Atom") should reveal new horizons.

BENJAMIN HARROW

## A Disturbing Tribe

*PILGRIM OF THE ABSOLUTE: LEON BLOY.* Selections by Raïssa Maritain. Introduction by Jacques Maritain. Pantheon Books. $3.50.

THE church is one, and legion. There is a conventional and vapid Catholicism—the simpering painted plaster statues of the St. Sulpice Quarter. There is also a free, ardent, paradoxical form of faith, mystic and quasi-rebellious, at times prophetic and even apocalyptic, with touches of Milton, but also of Byron, Carlyle, and Nietzsche. To this strange brood, belong the Lost Leader, Lamennais; the Satanic dandy, Barbey d'Aurevilly; Louis Veuillot, at least for his virulence; Huysmans, Claudel, Péguy, Bernanos; in Spain, Unamuno. Baudelaire would fit admirably, if only he had not stated so definitely, right to the end, that he was not a believer. Back of them all, and greatest, is Pascal. A disturbing tribe, constantly hovering between beatification and excommunication; the terror of the *bien pensants*, the right thinking, that is, the unthinking.

Of such was Léon Bloy, whose life and thought are here distilled in his own words by Raïssa Maritain, whom he brought into the church. She does not conceal or edulcorate any of his aspects. Léon Bloy believed literally the Gospel truth that wealth is sin. Others have said that property is theft and the profit motive degrading: he makes us feel it, as Christ felt it, with the irresistible power of a spiritual revelation. But though he had espoused poverty, he finds no joy in his wedded life with her. He curses those who keep him in the blessed state of utter destitution.

And his abuse is unmeasured, especially his abuse of his fellow-Catholics. "Never has there been anything as hateful, as completely abominable as our Catholic world today." Not merely the conservatives of the Maurras-Franco school, who "dream of a restoration in which a watchdog's kennel would be offered to Our Lord Jesus Christ," but the Sisters, whose orphanages are sweatshops, "Society Monsignori" like Msgr. Bolo, the Assumptionist Fathers for their politics, Cardinal Richard for his wealth, Benedict XV for his neutrality. When the flower of Catholic aristocracy perished in the Charity Bazaar conflagration, Léon Bloy let out a yell of delight: "At last! Served them right!"

How can we reconcile this vitriolic abuse with Christian charity? Veuillot too had sneered at the "Charitans." Léon Bloy assumes, like Torquemada, that rigorous chastisement is the highest form of love. A perilous method. Bloy, in his favorite book, "Salvation Is of the Jews," denounces the scurrilous anti-Semite Edouard Drumont. But Drumont, too, claimed to be a good Catholic, and his tone is exactly the same as Bloy's; Bernanos still admires the author of "Jewish France."

"As time does not exist for God, the inexplicable victory of the Marne may have been decided by the very humble prayer of a little girl who will not be born for another two centuries." Evidently Bloy does not try to make sense. He knows it and revels in it. With him, as with Paul, Tertullian, Pascal, his own master Hello, and even learned heretics like Reinhold Niebuhr, the mystery of the Cross is scandal, foolishness, absurdity, paradox. "Revelation is a lackluster firmament obscured by mountains of sinister clouds from whence occasionally darts forth, only at once to withdraw, the very tip of the arms of lightning." All this requires, not faith, which I have, but an extremely peculiar kind of faith, of which I am utterly destitute. If the second essential Commandment be "Love thy neighbor," if Charity be greater even than Faith and Hope, then it will be hard to give the name of Christian to this tortured angry man, belching forth volcanic abuse, lighting fitfully our darkness with a glare which is not of heaven.

ALBERT GUÉRARD


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# Music

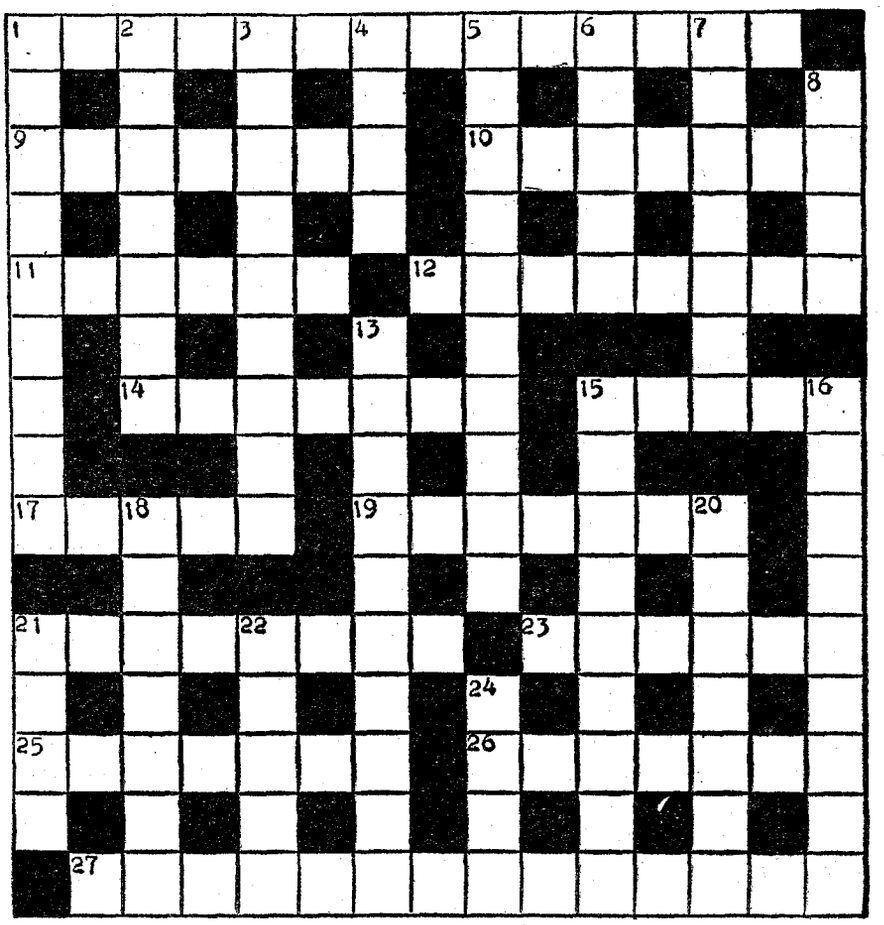
B. H. HAGGIN

TO BEGIN at last to catch up on the books that have piled up, and to begin with the finest of the lot, Dame Ethel Smyth's "Impressions That Remained" (Knopf; $5): This book, originally published in 1919, is the first instalment of the memoirs of the famous woman composer who died in 1944. Born in 1858, one of the typical large family of an English major-general who was antagonistic to her musical inclinations, she went to study music in Leipzig. There her remarkable personal qualities won her the intimate friendship of the families who dominated the musical life of the city, including the Herzogenbergs, those friends of Brahms who are always mentioned in program-notes, and in whose home in fact she met Brahms and got to know him well enough to write a chapter on him that is better than any of the full-dress biographies. Nor was it, of course, only Brahms but almost all the musical greats of the time—Clara Schumann, Joachim, Grieg, Tchaikovsky, Rubinstein, Levi—that she heard, met, observed, and describes.

Nor is it only musical folk that she writes about with such keen perception, humor, and verve. The book begins with delightful chapters about her family—her mother, for example, whose "own point of view tended to obscure that of the other person—so much so that we often chaffed her about her style of relating a conversation: 'So he said something or other, and I said *not at all*, that's where you're quite wrong. . . .'" Later there are equally fine chapters on her English friends. And throughout there are the observations on music, of the caliber of her remark about Wagner's "having written operas the length of which always seemed to me artistically arrogant—a wilful ignoring of the limits set by nature to human receptivity. But Wagner is, among other things, the greatest hypnotizer the world has ever seen, and for the hypnotized time does not exist."

In striking contrast to all this sharpness of perception, vivacity of mind, and vitality of literary style is the colorlessness of Bruno Walter's mind, the flabbiness of his translated writing in his autobiography, "Theme and Variations" (Knopf; $5). The mere factual

# CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 224 By MR. Y.



[SPECIAL NOTICE! This is the second of six puzzles constructed by Mr. Y, in competition with Mr. X. At the end of the competition, *The Nation's* regular crossword puzzle man will be selected on the basis of letters sent in by puzzle-solving readers.]

## ACROSS

1 Varga-girl's boyfriend in Scheherazade's tale? (8, 6)
9 Pours out when the act ends. (7)
10 Takes more margin in depressions. (7)
11 A hang-over isn't much use on dark days. (6)
12 Stoop and eat out of them. (8)
14 Twin beds are commonly stolen. (7)
15 Makes organic footnotes. (5)
17 Dairy account. (5)
19 Dear to the editor. (7)
21 He recommends several glasses each day. (8)
23 Dry up! (6)
25 He comes out of a big lane. (7)
26 He makes wharf decay. (7)
27 Pavement on the road that Dante walked? (4, 10)

## DOWN

1 Novel in which the baby slept? (9)
2 It's short and conical. (7)
3 Tinny note for nobody. (9)
4 Turkey and Syria are near this. (4)
5 Poohbah claimed to be descended from such an atomic globule. (10)
6 Well-known passage by Forster. (5)
7 Examine the thread in peace. (7)
8 Is twice worshipped. (4)
13 Strange, but in Germany food comes last. (10)
15 When he loses his head, he lives here. (9)
16 The price of frills? (9)
18 Any one of a Shakespearean quartet. (7)
20 Rapid movement in scores of things. (7)
21 What makes the Little Brothers so disturbed? (4)
22 It's not easy to get a hundred the first thing! (5)
24 On the verge of collapse. (4)

### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 223

ACROSS:—1 ALPHABETS; 6 MEATS; 9 BULLION; 10 TACTICS; 11 TIC; 12 ALBINO; 13 SORE; 15 MISSIVES; 16 ABSENT; 18 CAPONE; 20 UNSOLVED; 23 DIRK; 24 BUREAU; 25 RAM; 28 NEEDLES; 29 RAIMENT; 30 ABUSE; 31 REDUNDANT.

DOWN:—1 AMBIT; 2 PALACES; 3 ANIMATIONS; 4 ENNOBLES; 5 SATINS; 6 MACE; 7 ADIPOSE; 8 SUSPECTED; 14 ABSOLUTION; 15 MACEDONIA; 17 INTERRED; 19 PARVENU; 21 VERBENA; 22 BURSAR; 26 MOTET; 27 FLUE.

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record which it offers is interesting at times, as are the long discussions of Mahler's methods and results, the briefer ones of other conductors' and singers' and players' performances. But even the factual record is often sketchy, cloudy, and incomplete; for men like Walter have had experiences which could provide fascinating material for a book, but which they consider it necessary to be tactful about; and Walter is excessively tactful: there is, for example, not a word about Furtwängler—his performances before 1933, his behavior after 1933, about which Walter undoubtedly has opinions.

Tact may be the right word for Szigeti's omission of Arthur Judson from his "With Strings Attached" (Knopf; $4); but a less pleasant word would have to be used for his inclusions in that chaos of pretentious "reminiscences and reflections"—the profusion of names dragged in for a purpose. Thus, "Kreisler was playing a concerto by Mozart (that 'supreme internationalist and equalitarian in art,' as Olin Downes felicitously put it) . . ."

## Film Notes

"THE UNFAITHFUL" comes out against inadequately premeditated divorce and even suggests that a cuckold should try to understand and forgive his wife's adultery. It does not suggest, however, that *he* should ask *her* forgiveness for his far more contemptible failure to discipline his jealousy. And it dresses up what might have been good and plain, if rather immature, drama in some of the most superfluous plot-complications in years.

"Ivy" is an unusually ornate melodrama about an Edwardian murderess; it stars Joan Fontaine, who pops her eyes, coarsens her jaw, and wears her elegant clothes very effectively. The real star is whoever was chiefly responsible for the dressing, setting, lighting, and shooting, and that, I infer from past performance, is the producer, William Cameron Menzies.

"Moss Rose" is also English-turn-of-the-century, ornate, and about murder. It is not by a good deal as good of its kind as "Ivy." But Peggy Cummins is famishingly pretty; and Ethyl Barrymore, in an even sillier role, has moments when her sardonic slip shows, and others of such pure, gentle splendor that they make Gainsborough look like Varga.

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